

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE  
FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS  
WASHINGTON

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April 3, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY

SUBJECT: Actions Concerning Poland

For your meeting at the White House, we have prepared the text of a White House statement, a hot line message, and messages to Western leaders expressing our concern and saying that your trip is being postponed. Talking Points for a call to Secretary General Waldheim as well as talking points for consultations with the Congressional leadership are included.

We will be activating an interagency task force in the State Department Operations Center this evening.

Scenario for less than all-out invasion

- White House statement issued.
- Send messages as outlined above.
- Approach Luns and Waldheim.
- Stoessel in touch with Quad Ambassadors in Washington.
- Congressional leadership briefed.
- Permreps in NATO meet to exchange information and to seek instructions for discussion of contingencies on short notice.
- Brief other Allies (Japan and ANZUS).

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State Dept. review completed

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- Instruct USUN to undertake initial steps leading toward possible convening of emergency session of Security Council.
- Send preliminary message to Pope.
- Review E and E plans for Poland.
- Review NATO economic measures (Under Secretary Rashish) preparatory to NATO Ministerial agreement on NATO sanctions.
- Review short-term military measures (alert, etc.).
- Provide coordinated briefing to press.

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Scenario for Clear Cut Soviet Intervention and/or  
Use of Force in Event of Polish Counter Action

- Presidential statement issued.
- Other messages sent (hot line, allies, other interested states) in stronger terms than for Scenario I.
- Message to Pope urging him to make statement or take other action as he may deem appropriate.
- Secretary call Luns to convoke Foreign Ministers meeting soonest.
- Instructions to USUN to push for emergency Security Council meeting.
- Consultations with three Ambassadors in Washington and with Congressional leaders.
- At Foreign Ministers meeting, press for most rigorous possible implementation of political and economic measures.
- Consult with other interested powers (Japan, ANZUS).
- Implement short term military measures through NATO.
- Execute E & E plans as appropriate.
- Contingent on NATO Ministerial decision, instructions to CSCE delegation to pull out of Madrid Conference.
- Coordinated press briefing by high-level spokesman.
- US only consider longer term military measures but consult with NATO allies before implementation.
- Consider actions relating to Cuba.

Walter J. Stoessel, Jr.

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